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ABSTRACT

This is the report of Project Concern which operated in Hartford, Connecticut in 1966. Faced with public school problems, the city decided to attempt to bus some of its inner city children to schools of the surrounding suburbs. In the process of convincing the suburban towns to participate in a cooperative education program, the project leaders were forced to focus carefully on the desired results of busing urban children to the suburbs. Extensive records of the academic and social development of 260 children bused to 5 suburban towns were kept between 1966-1968, and compared to control groups of children remaining in the Hartford ghettos. The results of the testing and other data persuaded ten other towns and white middle class areas of Hartford City itself to participate in the project and accept target area children. (Author/DM)

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PRS 007

A Report
by the
Program
Reference
Service

Project Concern

Hartford, Connecticut

Field Analysts:
Arthur Satz
Martin Hoffman

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Acknowledgments

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The Center for Urban Education, an independent nonprofit corporation, was founded in 1965. The following year it was designated a Regional Educational Laboratory under the Cooperative Research Act of 1965. It is funded mainly by the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare through the Office of Education, but also contracts with other government agencies, state and local as well as federal, and with business firms and community agencies. The Center designs, field-tests, and disseminates alternatives to the traditional practices of formal education and citizen participation.

Under the direction of its Dissemination Division, the Center publishes a wide variety of reports, monographs, books, and bibliographies. A complete list of those items in print is available on request.

As a unit of the Dissemination Division, the Program Reference Service identified, examined, and provided information on programs in grades K-6 which deal with the problems of urban school systems. Its reports have been designed to meet the stated needs of school administrators and other educational decision-makers, and are offered as informational aids to effective educational planning. The development of the Program Reference Service was made possible by a grant to the Center from the Division of Information Technology and Dissemination, Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education.

October 1971

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Introduction

In the 1960s, Hartford, Connecticut, like many other large American cities, faced increasing *de facto* segregation and deterioration of its inner core. Confronted with troubled public schools and failing pupils, the City of Hartford decided to attempt to bus some of its inner city children to the schools of the surrounding suburbs. These schools offered, various educational and civic leaders believed, a chance for ghetto children to become familiar with the mainstream of middle class American society and to raise their academic expectations.

Project Concern began to bus its first groups of children in the fall of 1966, but the Project was no longer simply an attempt to solve an immediate problem. In the process of convincing the suburban towns to participate in a cooperative inter-community education program, the Project leaders had been forced to focus carefully on the desired results of busing urban children to the suburbs. They developed an experimental design for Project Concern with control as well as experimental groups, and with explicitly specified objectives. Hartford and the participant suburbs wanted to know just what was happening to the bused children, and why.

Project Concern kept extensive records of the academic and social development of some 260 children bused to five suburban towns, for the period September 1966 through June 1968. These records were compared to those of control group children who remained in the Hartford ghetto schools. The results of testing, as well as various subjective data, persuaded ten more suburban towns to participate in the Project. In addition, Hartford public schools in predominantly white, middle-class sections of the city also agreed to accept some children from the Project Concern target area. Consequently, as of the 1969-70 school year, 1,140 Hartford children, (about 95% of them Negro and Puerto Rican) traveled to classrooms across the Metropolitan Hartford area.

I History and Background

A. *The City*

The events that lead a city to recognize that it is in a state of crisis are difficult to identify and harder to document. Project Concern originated when the City of Hartford realized that its school system was failing to educate a great percentage of its children. Project Concern as it has evolved since 1966 is an attempt to meet that crisis by persuading surrounding areas that the problem of Hartford is also the problem of Greater Hartford, including the primarily white, middle-class suburbs.

Hartford is Connecticut's capital as well as its largest city. Its population is about 162,800, while the Greater Hartford urban area includes nearly 382,000 people. In the past years, the city has become a major industrial, commercial, and cultural center for Connecticut's 2.9 million residents, attracting job hunters and families looking for an opportunity.

Several factors account for the suddenness of Hartford's crisis, or at least the general recognition that the city was in trouble. Hartford grew steadily until the Depression of the 1930's. During the Depression and post-Depression period, while the actual number of residents remained fairly stable, the birth rate declined significantly. School enrollment, in fact, declined steadily until 1951, at which time it began to increase slowly, by about 400 pupils per year.

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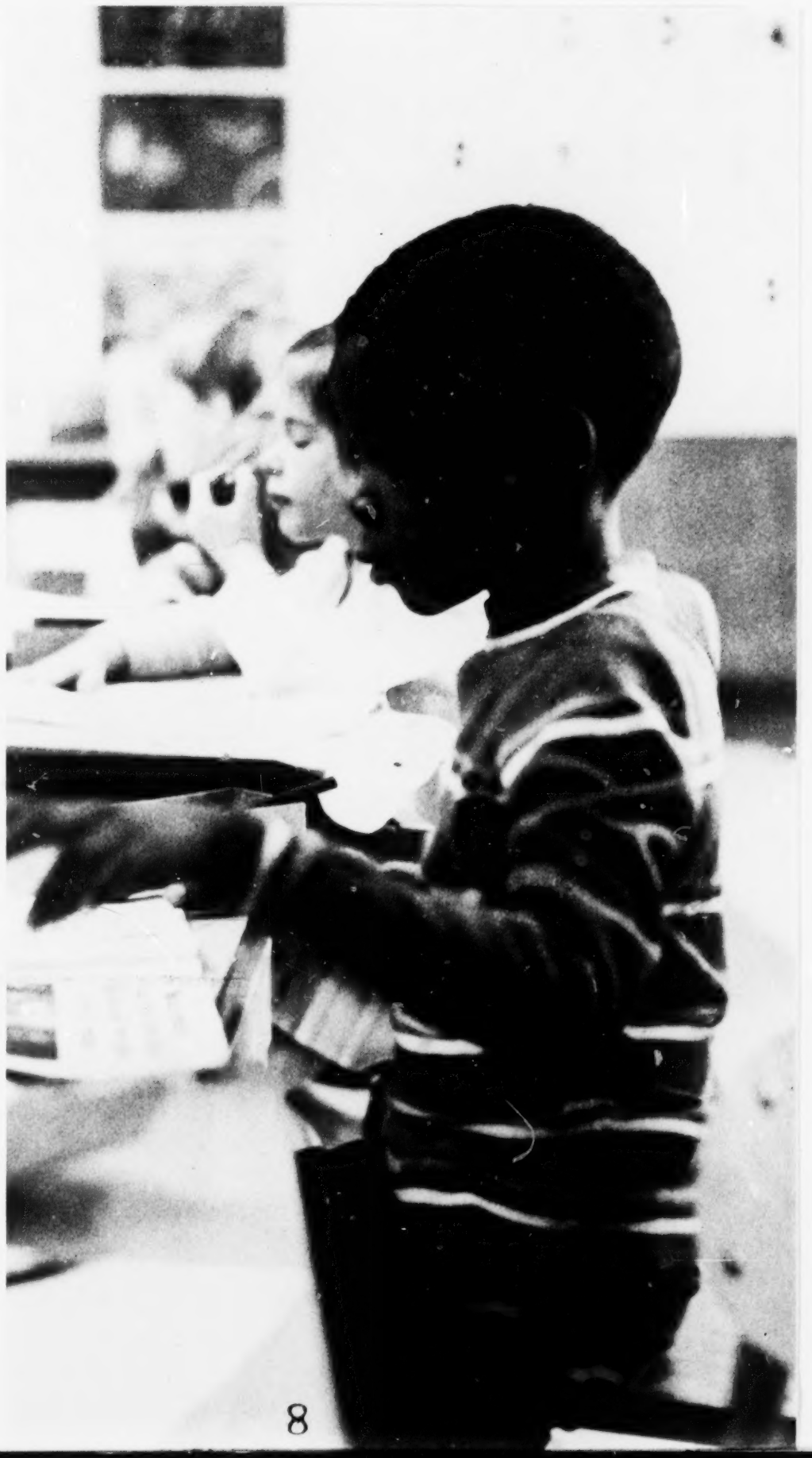

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Changing character of the population

The public schools were unprepared for the influx of new population between 1950 and 1955. During this period, 31,000 Hartford residents, mostly white, middle income families, moved out of the city into the surrounding suburbs. Those leaving the city were replaced by about 30,000 people coming in, of whom about one fifth were either from the southern United States or from outside this country. The Negro population, which had doubled between the years 1940-50, doubled again during the period 1950-60, thus representing about 15% of the total city population. As a whole, the new Hartford residents (1940-60) were not as skilled as those who had left it for the suburbs. Many came seeking jobs in the tobacco industry, or as domestic workers. The jobs were often seasonal and low-paying. In 1960, according to a 1960 census, 40% of Hartford's residents earned less than $4,000 a year; 17% of the adults in the metropolitan area had less than an eighth grade education. There was a disproportionate number of women of child-bearing age, and a higher birth rate among the lower income residents. *(R14, p. 6-7)* Between 1960 and 1966, the nonwhite population of Hartford doubled again and the population change brought with it increasing problems of the poor, the disadvantaged, and the vocationally unskilled.

Racial imbalance and poverty

According to *Schools for Hartford*, a study by the Hartford Graduate School of Education, commissioned by the City of Hartford for the purpose of long-term planning of school facilities, the city was faced with two major and related problems: racial imbalance and poverty. The study found that imbalance corresponded with the six planning districts designated by the city as "the most severe area of poverty in the city." Furthermore, statistics showed that:

> Children in elementary schools in the poverty areas are six months behind the city average when they enter the first grade. After five years in school, the average child in the poverty areas is almost a year and a half behind the Hartford average in reading achievement, spelling, and word knowledge, and a year behind in arithmetic comprehension. *(R14, p. 10)*

Eight of Hartford's 18 elementary schools (all located in the planning commission poverty areas) qualified as "disadvantaged" according to the federal rules for Title I funding. These schools had 85% or greater non-

white enrollment (compared with a 56% nonwhite school population in 1966 for the city as a whole) and an average family income below the poverty line. By 1968, 45.4% of Hartford's public school enrollment was Negro, 13.3% Puerto Rican, a total nonwhite enrollment of 58.7%.

In the background, as city officials began to recognize the urgency of the situation these statistics described, were two important, recently published studies: the Coleman Report *(Equality of Educational Opportunity)* and the Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights *(Racial Isolation in the Public Schools)*. Both these reports offered evidence that segregated education, whether *de facto* or intentional, is inferior to education which takes place in racially integrated schools. The advantage of integration was expressed in terms of better facilities, general psychological benefits, and the acculturation of nonwhite children into the white mainstream. There was also the knowledge of the disappointing failure of many "compensatory" programs designed to improve inner city education.

B. *The Harvard Report – First Attempt*

In 1965, a joint committee, made up of the Chamber of Commerce, the Hartford Board of Education, and the Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford asked the Center for Field Studies of the Harvard Graduate School of Education to do a study, of the city's educational system. *Schools for Hartford*, or "the Harvard Report," as it is generally called, recommended "the establishment of a regional organization that will engage the schools of the metropolitan area in a cooperative attack on the interlocked problems of poverty and race in the central city." *(R14, p. 3)*

The notion of metropolitan cooperation to solve mutual problems was not without precedent in the Hartford area. The Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce was a long-standing example of a metropolitan organization representing urban and suburban interests in economic development. In the late 1950's a Capitol Region Planning Agency was formed to consider a long-term developmental plan for the Greater Hartford area. Under the Metropolitan District Commission, water and waste disposal services were centralized. A regional mass transit system went into effect in 1964. Red Feather and many programs funded by the Office of Eco-

Recommended: city-suburban cooperation

nomic Opportunity have been operated on a regional basis. While these cooperative efforts have established some basis for a metropolitan attitude, they have also aroused some fears, particularly in the affluent suburbs, that local autonomy might be lost and the suburban towns swallowed up in a super-city.

The Harvard Report, based on an eight-month study of the Hartford school system, included a number of specific suggestions, all of which supported its major conclusion that Hartford could not solve its problems alone. The Report favored integration, and it favored comprehensive intervention in the deteriorating ghetto school environments. Stop-gap compensatory programs would not reverse the trend, according to the Harvard team headed by the late Dr. Vincent Conroy. Neither would nonvoluntary integration within the existing inner-city white population; on the contrary, forced integration within the city would probably increase the flight to the suburbs.

The Harvard Report recommended, instead, a plan of "metropolitan cooperation" to include the suburban towns within a fifteen mile radius of downtown Hartford, in a voluntary program to bus large numbers of Hartford children into the suburban schools. According to the plan, 6,000 children from grades K-12 would be attending schools in 34 neighboring towns by 1974. Such a proposal seemed too radical for 1965; the Hartford Board of Education said, "no."

C. *Project Concern – The Beginnings*

Town Meeting of Tomorrow

While the Hartford Board of Education refused to accept the recommendations of the Harvard Report, the Connecticut State Department of Education was very much interested in the concept of metropolitan busing. Within a few months of the rejection of the Harvard Report, new efforts were made to reverse the trend of decay in inner Hartford. One of these efforts was a series of seminars, sponsored by the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce and the Aetna Life and Casualty Company, which brought together local business, industrial, civic, and political leaders. In what was called "The Town Meeting of Tomorrow", these community leaders discussed the issues of urban education, *de facto* segregation, and, ultimately, the recommendations of the Harvard Report. Hartford's leaders

began to look carefully, if cautiously, at the possibilities of involving the surrounding suburbs in a voluntary busing plan.

With the support of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, the Connecticut State Department of Education agreed to draw up and sponsor a proposal for an experimental program in urban-suburban integrated education. The Hartford Board of Education declared that it was willing to cooperate with suburbs in the area. The State Department of Education had already reviewed the Harvard Report and drawn up a tentative proposal, following a meeting attended by representatives of the other parties.

Legal authority for the Project

The events which followed are recorded by various sources as chaotic, controversial, and, in detail, confusing. The overall picture is fairly clear. The Connecticut State Department of Education, under Dr. William Sanders (Commissioner) and Dr. Alexander J. Plante (Executive Director of Program Development); the Hartford Board of Education, under Acting Superintendent Robert M. Kelly; and the Chamber of Commerce, through its education committee and board of directors, approached the State Attorney General regarding the legal procedures for implementing such a proposal. The Attorney General ruled (as subsequently did the legal counsel in each suburban town) that the decision whether to enter into contract with Hartford for the purposes of a cooperative educational project was within the domain of the "educational policy-making" authority of the duly constituted school board of any Connecticut town. Neither a town meeting nor a referendum could legally decide the issue. Consequently, the Department of Education sent letters to the local school boards of several suburban towns in the Hartford area. The four towns initially invited to participate in what had become known as "Project Concern" were West Hartford, Farmington, Manchester and Glastonbury. They were selected because they had been subjectively appraised as "receptive" to the busing proposal. *(R12, p. 8)* Members of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce helped significantly in making initial contacts with local school boards and sympathetic citizens.

The proposal

Basically, the proposal under consideration was the following: approximately 300 children in grades kindergarten through fifth grade, to be selected from Hartford schools with a nonwhite population of 85% or

more, were to occupy the "vacant seats" of cooperating suburban schools. The vacant seat plan simply meant that Hartford children would be placed only in classrooms where the number of children was under the local standard (generally, 25 students to one teacher). Furthermore, no fewer than two but no more than three Hartford children were to be placed in any suburban classroom. The Hartford children were to be bused each day to and from their urban homes. No children with previous records of emotional problems would be included in the bused group.

Local reactions

Reaction in each of the four towns ran high; emergency meetings were called by ad hoc groups, accusations were made, court injunctions and other recriminations against local school board members were threatened. The local school boards also called official meetings, in order to provide more accurate information about the proposed plan and to assess popular sentiment towards it. It is important to note, however, that in the end it was the local school boards that made the legal decisions. The West Hartford school board was the first to make such a decision. They voted heavily in favor of offering seats to the Hartford children, but they also set up several stipulations and operational requirements under which they would participate in Project Concern. The major stipulation, which has been widely praised as ". . . a unique demand in the field of American education," was that Project Concern ". . . be implemented with a carefully worked out experimental design and . . . be conducted in a fashion that would permit evaluation of its effectiveness after two years." *(R12, p. 10)*

Operation of the plan

The operational requirements, accepted by the city of Hartford and all participating towns, were, according to *A Two Year Report,* as follows:

1. The city of Hartford would pay the suburban town tuition for each child accepted and this tuition would be equal to the average per pupil cost in the suburban school system's elementary program.
2. Decisions about placement in programs for Hartford youngsters would be the responsibility of the suburban school administrators.
3. In the event that the suburban school system should feel the program was not working, they could withdraw on 30-day notice to the Board of Education of the City of Hartford.
4. Transportation and administration of the program would be the responsibility of the City of Hartford. *(R12, p. 10)*

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Votes to participate

Along with West Hartford, the school boards of Farmington and Manchester voted to join the Project; Glastonbury declined on a tie vote. This left the anticipated number of vacant seats available from the three participating towns somewhat short of the 300 goal. By June of 1966, however, the towns of South Windsor and Simsbury expressed interest in the busing experiment. With their eventual affirming votes, the number of spaces for Hartford children came to a total of 266, in 35 schools, across five towns. West Hartford provided the largest block of these seats (80), while Simsbury and South Windsor each offered 25 seats. At this point, contractual agreements between Hartford and the five towns were completed, and Project Concern was close to a reality.

Objections to the plan

In the heated process of making their decision, however, the participating suburban communities had raised several recurring objections. Among these were:

1. This is Hartford's problem and Hartford should solve it.
2. This is the beginning of metropolitan government and it will result in the loss of local autonomy and jurisdiction.
3. It would be better to spend the money on improving the conditions in the Hartford Public Schools.
4. The time involved in busing would be physically harmful to the children.
5. The contrast between the affluence of the suburb and the poverty of the home would result in psychological trauma.
6. Children would become isolated from their own neighborhoods and lose a sense of belonging.
7. The educational disabilities of the bused children would be brought into clearer focus both to themselves and to the suburban children, resulting in a confirmation of their own negative self-perception and the negative perception of suburban children.
8. Suburban schools are already overcrowded and there is no room to bring in outsiders.
9. The presence of disabled learners would result in the reduction of the quality of education in the suburbs.
10. The black community would prefer to have better schools of their own.

11. Suburban families had to work their way up and then move out; if inner city families desire the opportunity of the suburbs, let them come up by way of the same route. *(R12, p. 9)*

Supportive teams

Aside from the possible motives of fear, exclusiveness, and racial prejudice, many of these issues reflect the serious concerns of educators as well as parents. Most of these concerns, in fact, were explicitly or implicitly tested in the experimental design and the results of Project Concern.

West Hartford's recommendation that an experimented design should be worked out to permit evaluation of the program after two years was accepted by the City of Hartford and the other participating suburban communities. The broad outlines of Project Concern were thus almost defined. One major addition, however, was made preceding the implementation stage. This was provision for the "supportive team."

Among the concerns repeatedly expressed by individuals in the suburban towns was that the Hartford youngsters would be at an academic disadvantage, and that attempts to compete with their suburban classmates would have detrimental psychological and intellectual consequences. There were also worries that the educational disabilities of the Hartford children would place demands on the suburban teachers at the expense of the more capable suburban children. To meet these concerns, the idea of the "supportive team" was developed. Hartford would provide the team, made up of one professional teacher and one nonprofessional educational aide from the Hartford North End for each group of 25 bused children, but the receiving suburban school could deploy the team at its discretion. The functions of the supportive team were to be flexible, but were generally to include:

1. Increased availability of remedial assistance for pupils who need it (both Hartford and suburban youngsters).
2. Close contact with the home (bused children only).
3. Close liaison with special services such as social work and psychological counseling.
4. Provision of new resource materials for teachers dealing with culturally different children. *(R12, p. 13)*

As the program evolved, these four supportive team functions were widely interpreted by individual schools and school systems. (They will be discussed more fully in a later section of this report.) The aides have taken the major responsibility for home contract and referral; the professional teacher has been concerned mostly with remedial and extra classroom assistance, although aides have provided remedial help as well. Relatively little has been done in developing new materials specially tailored to the cultural background of the Hartford children. For one thing, many schools participating in the Project emphasize the similarities, rather than the differences between urban and suburban children. Most of the efforts in recognizing legitimate and valuable differences have been in terms of purchasing library books about black and Puerto Rican fictional and historical characters. In a few schools, "black history" has been injected into the traditional American studies program, and in general more attention is paid to the contributions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the most recent past (Martin Luther King, in particular).

While the provision of the supportive team was acceptable to all parties involved, it introduced a new variable into the experimental design. The Hartford groups would be affected not only by busing but also by the extra educational assistance of the supportive team. In order to isolate the impact of suburban schooling on inner city children, rigorous experimental design would require separating the following groups: bused students with supportive team; bused students without supportive team; nonbused students with supportive team; and nonbused students without supportive team.

Experimental controls

The City of West Hartford, therefore, insisted that, during the initial two-year experimental phase, only approximately half the bused children be accompanied by supportive teams, while the other half (without supportive teams) would provide the needed experimental control. For the unsupported, unbused control group, the researchers merely designated classes of children matched to grade and school of the experimental group. These children continued to function within their original schools, but provided data and test results (see section on "Tests and Measures"). The nonbused, supported control group was taken from North End schools which already had special personnel resources, received under the 1965

Elementary and Secondary Education Act. These schools agreed to provide the selected control group children with equivalent support services. Project staff visited the schools periodically to ensure that these special services were satisfactorily maintained.

2 Project Concern: Concept and Implementation

A. *Design and Rationale for the Experiment*

Neither the City of Hartford nor the five suburban communities participating in Project Concern agreed to a cooperative, metropolitan approach to inner city problems without serious consideration of alternative solutions. The decision to bus Hartford children to suburban schools was, as discussed previously, based in part on a recognition of the general failure of compensatory programs. In addition, evaluation studies of Headstart indicate that the gains made by children in such programs are lost, in terms of academic measurement, when Headstart children move into traditional inner city school classrooms. Children in inner city schools, according to reports like the Philadelphia Study, are not only below the national norms; they in fact fall incrementally below these norms for each year of school. Thus, any treatment designed to overcome the educational failures of the ghetto school, must be comprehensive enough to reverse this trend. Stop-gap, compensatory programs are unlikely to work, because they assume that the same institutional structure within which such programs operate can "carry the burden" of change. There are sufficient studies from most of the related disciplines which suggest that the school, especially in the inner city, is inadequate to the task.

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Alternative learning models

Rejecting attempts to work within the school system as it exists in inner Hartford, proponents of Project Concern based their rationale for the busing experiment on the following underlying assumption: The ghetto child has a "style of learning" which does not facilitate school success; because this style of learning is confronted in the inner city school by no alternative "learning styles," or models, it is reinforced and perpetuated. The suburban school on the other hand, provided alternative, successful models.

Formally, the research assumptions are:

1. Response patterns are most likely to change when the environmental conditions (physical, psychological, and social) are markedly different from those typically encountered.
2. As old response patterns are discarded, the evolving new patterns will develop in the direction of models presented by the peer group, provided such models do not create disabling anxiety or pose unattainable goals.
3. Teacher expectations can be consistently higher (and therefore more effective) when the classroom situation provides feedback to the teacher in terms of adequate goal attainment by a majority of the students.

The goal

Rather than attempting comprehensive change within the existing inner city school, (or creating a new institution), Project Concern places children in a "successful" example of the traditional one. The preeminent goal of Project Concern, according to Dr. Thomas W. Mahan (Project Director, 1966-68), is improved academic performance for the Hartford children. "The major criterion for the success of Project Concern is measurable, systematic change, associated with placement in a suburban school, on evaluation instruments with high predictability of future school performance." *(R12, p. 12)*

In a time when the relevance of academic education is questioned, values and attitudes are in flux, and traditional definitions of knowledge and learning are open to question, the objectives of Project Concern can easily be criticized as "simplistic," "middle-class oriented," and "short-sighted." The Project staff were not unaware of such criticisms; *A Two-Year Report* documents their concern. The basic rationale from which the Project arrived at its objectives was that, while not everyone may affirm traditional

school values and objectives ". . . the immediate question is whether a segment of our population is going to be constrained and restricted in terms of its economic, cultural, and social growth, because it has been deprived of alternative avenues." *(R12, p. 12)*

Secondary objective

In addition to assessing the academic growth of disadvantaged urban children placed in suburban schools with "high learning expectations," Project Concern had a secondary objective: to determine the feasibility of urban-suburban collaboration in such a program. Thus, the Project planned to collect data and evaluate problems of logistics (transportation), values, and attitudes, and cultural and psychological consequences. The first two years of Project Concern were to be not only a demonstration but also, ". . . an experimental assay in search of answers more than . . . an illustration of techniques." *(R12, p. 11)*

B. *Tests and Measures*

The Project design specified the following areas of testing, along with instruments considered appropriate for measuring experimental results:

- Mental Ability – Both the verbal scale of the Wechsler Intelligence for children and the Test of Primary Mental Abilities were administered to all experimental and control children, at four points during the first two year experimental phase (Fall 1966, Spring 1967, Fall 1967, and Spring 1968). The administration of the individual test (WISC) was done by a certified psychological examiner at the school to which the youngster was assigned: The PMA was administered to mixed groups made up of both experimental and control youngsters in an effort to eliminate any contamination that might result from test administration techniques.

- School Skills – At the primary grades (K-1) it was felt that the essential skill was readiness for reading. For this reason, the Metropolitan Readiness Test was selected as an appropriate instrument and was administered to all subjects in mixed groups of experimentals and controls at the same four testing points mentioned above. In the intermediate grades (3-6) emphasis was placed upon development in the

areas of reading and mathematics. Again, the testing was of mixed groups and contained all subjects. However, because of the time involved in administration of these tests, it was decided that measures in the Spring of 1967 and again in the Spring of 1968 would be adequate. In the original assessment, the subtests of the Iowa Test of Basic Skills were utilized; in spring 1968, a change was made to the Sequential Test of Educational Progress because many of the youngsters had recently taken the Iowa Test of Basic Skills in the regular school testing program.

- Anxiety and Self Esteem – The instruments utilized by Sarason, et al., in their studies of elementary school children seemed to offer some promise in the assessment of both experimental and control children. As a result, both the Test Anxiety Scale and the General Anxiety Scale were administered to mixed groups at the same four testing points utilized for measures of mental ability.

- Peer Acceptance – A major concern of the Project was the extent to which the experimental youngsters were to be integrated into the receiving schools as full fledged members. A sociometric technique was developed and administered in all of the suburban classrooms to which Project children were assigned in the Fall of 1967.

- Pupil Attitude – Of extreme importance is the actual feeling and reaction of those youngsters from Hartford who attend suburban schools. A sample of 54 youngsters was randomly drawn from the experimental sample and a Negro college student, not otherwise connected with the Project, was employed to interview those selected, using a highly structured format. (A copy of this format can be found in the Appendix.)

- Suburban Parent Attitude – An anonymous questionnaire (contained in the Appendix) was mailed to a randomly selected sample of 700 suburban parents in the fall of 1967.

- Suburban Achievement – The annual school testing program carried out by the suburban school system was used as the base for studying the impact of Hartford children upon the achievement of suburban children.

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● Teacher Perception – Each classroom teacher was asked to complete a rating scale (see Appendix) on each experimental youngster in her class. These ratings were distributed in the late spring of 1968.

Limitations

In addition, variables such as school attendance, drop-outs, and occupational aspiration were systematically observed. *(R12, p. 15-16)*

These measures are, of course, useful only to the extent that they are reliable and valid. Recent research has indicated that many of the standard, widely-used tests do not, in fact, measure what they are intended to measure. Cultural and ethnic differences, in particular, seem to give advantage to some children while handicapping others. In the sense that the tests predict success or appraise achievement within the context of the middle-class, academic school system, they are, to some extent, legitimate measures. They probably do not reflect generalized potential or the special knowledge and skills of inner city children.

Besides the limitations of the measuring instruments, the experimental design had other problems. For one thing, the samples used during the 1966-68 intensive research phase are small and the size of the four groups uneven, despite Hartford's request for equal distribution of children in the groups. (Thus, 213 of the bused children received the supportive team treatment, while only 45 bused children were without the supportive team). Furthermore, the variables in question (busing, supportive teams) are not clearly isolated; other variables appear within groups which should theoretically be homogeneous. (For example, IQ scores were not matched precisely, and group averages vary slightly. The inner city school used for the non-bused, supported control group is not a typical Hartford school, since its selection was based on the special educational services it could offer as equivalent to the supportive team. No provision was made to consider statistically the differences in staff and facilities of the suburban schools.) The implications of these limitations in analyzing the research data will be discussed in more detail as the experimental results are presented.

C. *West Hartford Preimplementation Program*

The Project directors had considerable concern about transporting nearly

300 Hartford children to more than 35 suburban schools in time for morning class. To study some of the logistical problems of the Project and smooth the way for the fall, the West Hartford Public Schools developed a proposal to incorporate Hartford North End youngsters into their regular summer school program. Funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the summer program operated from July through August 1966. In addition to answering some questions about how to bus Hartford children to suburban schools, the summer school experience threw light on a number of other aspects of the Project. A documentation of the summer school, *An Experiment in Urban-Suburban Education* (West Hartford Public Schools, 1967) lists the following conclusions:

Conclusions from summer program

1. Poverty area parents appear to accept the idea of urban-suburban mixing.
2. Neither the bus schedules nor bus behavior create major obstacles to such programs.
3. Attendance at a summer school was essentially the same in terms of absences and drop-out rates for both urban and suburban children.
4. There was no evidence of psychological or cultural blocks to learning of urban children bused to a suburban town.
5. Suburban teaching staff did not report greater difficulty in teaching urban children. *(R12, p. 13-14)*

While the West Hartford summer school was clearly an informal, small scale, and temporary operation, it was considered by many potential participants and Project staff members as an auspicious preliminary to the selection of the first group of children for the two-year experiment.

D. *Selection of Children*

"Validated" schools

Ideally, the experimental design would have provided for random selection of individual children from among the eight "validated" elementary schools in the City of Hartford. "Validated" schools were those so designated for the purposes of receiving special Office of Education program funds according to two criteria: 1) each had 85% or more nonwhite students, and 2) each was located in an economically defined "disadvantaged" area. It was more practical, however, to select whole classes rather than individual children. Classes were thus picked at random from K-5

in the "validated" schools, and classroom teachers were freed for supportive teams.

According to the contractual agreement between the city of Hartford and the participating suburban towns, students were eligible for the Project only if they could meet the following criteria:

1. They were within grades K-5.
2. They were enrolled in an 85% nonwhite public school.
3. They had above 80 IQ; no emotional problems.
4. They obtained parental permission.

Thus, only classes in grades K-5 in "validated" schools with minimal numbers of "problem" children were included in the selection. The children for the experimental treatments were selected first; control groups were then drawn from the respective grade levels in the same schools. By chance, all children came from five of the eight validated schools; 40% of this sample were from two schools considered most disadvantaged.

Problems of random selection

This procedure could work only if most parents invited to participate allowed their children to travel to suburban schools; large numbers of refusals would affect the randomness of the sample. Many people thought that it might be difficult to find 300 families to participate without accepting a disproportionate number from the Negro middle class, but these fears proved groundless. Of the 266 children selected for the available seats in five suburban schools, only 12 were unable to participate because of parental objections.

Assignment

No predetermined method was used in assigning Hartford youngsters to suburban schools. Because suburban school authorities could only approximate, until late August, 1966, the number of spaces available at each grade level at each school, assignments were simply made. All youngsters were placed as openings occurred at the grade level in which they would have been had they remained in the Hartford Public School system.

The children

An analysis of the group of children randomly selected for the experiemntal phase showed that: 88% of the children were Negro, 10% Puerto Rican, and 2% Caucasian. In this same group, 29% of the children's families were receiving welfare support; 44% of the children had four

to six siblings; 56% of the families had both father and mother; 96% of the fathers were semi-skilled or unskilled workers; 83% of the families lived in rented tenements. These socioeconomic characteristics indicate that the selected Hartford children fit, at least superficially, the standard concept of the urban "disadvantaged."

E. *Training Provisions*

The implementation of Project Concern required the efforts of a variety of staff, many of whom had no equivalent experience. For the parent aides, Project Concern involved supervising large groups of children. It also included some instructional tasks. For the support team teachers (most of whom were from Hartford, although this changed after the two-year experimental phase), the Project meant a whole new way of relating to a group of children, of being responsible for the adjustment of these children to a new environment, as well as performing instructional tasks. For a third group of staff, the suburban teachers who had volunteered to accept Hartford children, the Project meant their having to be prepared for the possible cultural differences as well as learning styles of their new pupils. Consequently, the Project office organized an orientation training program to precede the two-year phase of the busing program. During the summer of 1966, a four week summer workshop was sponsored for supportive teachers and aides, as well as for teachers and principals from participating schools. The workshop sought to introduce suburban participants (and some of the Hartford teachers) to the inner city and to some of the families whose children had been selected for Project Concern. For the supportive team aides from the city, emphasis was placed on becoming familiar with a suburban school system. Apparently, little time was spent exploring instructional techniques for either the aides or the professional teachers. It was assumed that this responsibility fell within the domain of the individual suburban school administrators.

Summer workshop

Training was not repeated preceding the second year of the experimental phase, primarily because the majority of the staff continued into the second year, but also because there seemed to be some ambivalence as to what type of training was appropriate and under whose jurisdiction it belonged.

F. *Transportation Logistics*

Once the children had been selected, Project Concern faced the problem of getting them from Hartford to the suburbs, and back again. Buses would have to pick up and deliver the children fairly near their homes, to ensure their safety. For the smaller children especially, distance was a problem. Furthermore, there was no correspondence between the location of a child's home in Hartford and his suburban school assignment. Thus, children from all over the Hartford target area had to be bused to one suburban school.

Bus schedules

It was finally decided that each bus could manage ten stops, approximately five blocks apart, picking up children assigned to any suburban school or schools. While this was not an ideal arrangement, and resulted in an uneven distribution of children to buses, and buses to schools, it did provide for a reasonably short bus ride and convenient hours (no child at the beginning of a route would have to be waiting on a street corner before 7 a.m.) In order to allow the Hartford children to participate in the social life and after-school activities of the suburban schools, late buses were provided on a regular schedule, in addition to the usual after-school return.

The bus company which services Project Concern was selected from among competitive bids for the contract. Bus routes were planned by the company in conjunction with Project Concern. Some modifications have been required as time schedules change for children in upper grades, or as suburbs agree to take on increased numbers of Hartford children, but the original plan has essentially been retained. One major suggestion (which has been given serious consideration, but not yet adopted) is to transport children to and from the Hartford school in their neighborhood, rather than from their geographically widespread residences. However it is arranged, transportation accounts for a large proportion of the Project Concern budget. For the second year of the experimental phase, the City of Hartford paid approximately $251 per pupil transportation cost, or about 1/5 the total Project per pupil allocation. Transportation costs have risen steadily, as the Project has expanded to more suburban communities. (See budget specifications, p. 49) The increase is in terms of per pupil cost as well as overall budget.

3 Results of the Experimental Phase

A. *A Two-Year Report – Analysis of Data*

Project Concern has been in operation since the Fall of 1966. It was during the initial two year "Experimental Phase" (1966-68), however, that the most intensive data collection and interpretation of test results were carried out. During this period, Project Concern was formally on trial.

Analysis of data as provided in this section is based on the two-year experimental phase, and is drawn primarily from the official reports submitted by the Project. These include: *A Two-Year Report – Project Concern,* August, 1968, (R12) and *The Busing of Students for Equal Opportunities,* (R9) both written by Dr. Thomas W. Mahan, director of Project Concern during the experimental phase. (See References for further information.)

Specifically, the issues (based on the Project goals as defined by Dr. Mahan) were:

- Do disadvantaged urban children placed in suburban schools show intellectual growth and improved academic performance?
- To what extent does the extra educational assistance of the support team result in intellectual growth and improved academic performance?

Results of the xperimental Phase

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- Does the placement of disadvantaged urban children in suburban schools negatively affect the intellectual growth and academic performance of the suburban children?

- What are the various psychological and social effects on both urban and suburban children when small numbers of the former are placed in schools with the latter?

- How do the parents and communities of both urban and suburban children respond to a cooperative educational program like Project Concern?

Unfortunately, the data from the first year of Project Concern (1966-67) is incomplete, owing to inadequacies in the procedures established for testing subjects. The following tables, however, present the available statistical results, and the interpretations as presented in *A Two-Year Report*. (Much of this section has been taken directly from the *Report*, the most concise, accurate account of results as officially reported by the Project staff. Some of the more recent data here and in subsequent tables was supplied by Mr. William Paradis, the Project's present executive directory.) The *Report* states:

> The random selection process described above resulted in a sample of 266 experimental subjects and 305 controls, most of whom are the basis of this report. (Some are excluded because of attrition by way of "dropping out" of the Project, because of moving away from the target area, or because they were missed in the data collection process) This [section] attempts in outline fashion, to describe the social conditions from which these youngsters emerge and also to present their own reaction to suburban schooling at the end of two years.

Original academic status

> Most critical, since Project Concern is primarily an educational intervention, is a clear picture of the academic status of these youth. Table I indicates the initial (Fall, 1966) measured verbal intelligence quotient based on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, for both experimental and control subjects. Although there is some variability in these mean scores, there is considerable evidence of the consistency with which they fall below national expectations. This is more important in light of the fact

that these scores are based on an orally administered test which does not require reading ability.

TABLE I

INITIAL IQ BY GRADE AND TREATMENT

Treatment		*Kdgtn.*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Group I	*nonbused; nonsupported*	186	85.6	92.3	89.3	91.0	88.7	94.9
Group II	*nonbused; supported*	58	–	–	–	–	91.0	94.5
Group III	*bused; nonsupported*	37	87.6	83.6	–	95.4	92.5	94.6
Group IV	*bused; supported*	160	84.8	96.8	92.4	95.2	91.3	89.0

No Headstart advantage

Even more important is to note two other facts. Again, assuming the representativeness of these samples, one is impressed by the lack of evidence of the "cumulative deficit" on a cross-sectional basis. Indeed, what evidence exists indicates a slight trend toward better performance (in terms of national norms) in the higher grades. The second fact illustrated by these figures is that Hartford's "ghetto" youth enter school disabled. They come to school with serious deficiencies at the kindergarten level and experience in a Headstart program does not appear to have any influence on this fact. Among both experimental and control groups the random selection resulted in a subgroup of kindergarten subjects who had had Headstart experience. On no measure of the initial testing is there a significant difference attributable to this prior program.

More specifically, these kindergarten subjects in both the experimental and control samples perform consistently below average in all subtests. Their average functioning in each of the five Wechsler subtests is approximately at the same level (15 percentile on national norms) as reflected in the IQ. There is some tendency for the weakness to be more pronounced in the General Information and Vocabulary areas and somewhat less pronounced in Arithmetic and Similarities. At the same time, the standard error of these latter two tests is greater and the relatively better score (still below national norms) may be an artifact of lack of differentiation at this age level.

Sample typical of urban poor

In general, it seems safe to conclude that the subjects of this study were significantly below average (in terms of national expectations) on measures of academic ability. It also seems safe to conclude that this phenomen is clearly discernible at the beginning of the child's school experience. These facts suggest that Project Concern has directed itself to a sample which has the learning characteristics which have been considered typical of the urban poor.

Social characteristics

This same conclusion appears valid when the focus shifts from academic to social characteristics. Presented below are some of the more salient statistics in this area:

A. Living Situation		**B. Income Source**	
1. Both parents	56%	1. Both parents	23%
2. Mother only	36%	2. Father only	36%
3. Father only	1%	3. Mother only	12%
4. Step-parent(s)	7%	4. Welfare	29%
C. Number of Siblings		**D. Father's Occupational Level**	
1. No siblings	0.5%	1. Professional	1.0%
2. 1-3	23.0%	2. Managerial	1.0%
3. 4-6	44.5%	3. Skilled	2.0%
4. 7 or more	32.0%	4. Semi-skilled	52.0%
		5. Unskilled	44.0%
E. Birth of Parent(s) With Whom Living		**F. Residence**	
1. Connecticut	18.0%	1. Own home	6%
2. North, other than Conn.	6.0%	2. Rent single or duplex	11%
3. South	65.0%	3. Rent tenement	83%
4. Puerto Rico, West Indies	11.0%		

The overall picture from these statistics is of a large family, frequently one which has experienced some structural breakdown, subsisting on limited funds in crowded, densely populated areas which are basically alien to the parents' early childhood experience in the rural south. *(R.12, p. 17-18)*

B. *Academic Results*

Since the preeminent goal for Project Concern was improved academic performance, the results of the tests of mental ability and achievement of both the experimental and control subjects are critical data in evaluating the success of the project.

Three tests were administered to ascertain academic results of Project Concern. IQ patterns were identified by the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and the Test of Primary Mental Abilities. Measures of achievement were obtained through use of the Metropolitan Readiness Test at grades K and 1 and by the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress in reading and mathematics at the higher grade levels.

Before considering conclusions drawn from test results, it should be noted that the original experimental sample N of 266 and control sample N of 305 were reduced by factors shown in the following tables, both taken from *A Two Year Report:*

Table 1

DISPOSITION OF ORIGINAL SAMPLE

	Experimental	*Control*
Original Participants	266	305
Moved from target area	34	57
Drop-outs	26	—
Missed in testing	199	244
Final number for Analysis	197	244

Table 2

AVAILABLE NUMBER BY GRADE AND TREATMENT

Grade	*Group I (Non-bused; non-supported)*	*Group II (Non-bused; supported)*	*Group III (Bused; non-supported)*	*Group IV (Bused; supported)*
Kdg	36	None	11	28
1	35	None	8	21
2	17	18	4	38
3	37	11	5	20
4	35	13	4	20
5	26	16	5	33
Total	186	58	37	160

(R12, p21)

In order to offset distortions due to the incomplete collection of data in the first year of the experiment, the analysis of results on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children is based on the second testing (spring, 1967).

Conclusions

There is a considerable amount of consistency in the results of all three tests. The following conclusions may be drawn:

- Of the two treatment variables – busing and supportive assistance – only busing was consistently associated with a positive trend in academic ability and achievement. This, however, generally held true for only the lower grades, K-3. The introduction of supportive care *tended* to be associated with positive academic growth, but this tendency was not universal nor significant. For grades K-3, then, one would order the impact of treatment as follows: bused – supported; bused – non-supported; non-bused – supported; and non-bused – non-supported.

- At the 4th grade level in all three tests, the non-bused and, in some cases, the non-bused and non-supported excelled over the bused and bused-supported, showing a complete reversal of the results for K-3. At the 5th grade level there were no statistically significant results from the ability tests. On achievement tests, however, 5th graders who were non-bused and non-supported did better than their bused supported counterparts. Suburban intervention appears effective at grades K-3, but not at 4 and 5.

C. *Non-Academic Factors*

While it is difficult to capture the hopes and fears and aspirations of children, with statistics, Project Concern sought to study the implications of these more subtle factors on future planning. Researchers used in-depth interviews, sociometric studies, and other scales to assess participants' reactions. This data focused in two directions: the impact of the suburban schools on the Project Concern children; and the impact of the Project Concern children on the suburban communities. Several indices were used for evaluating the sociopsychological significance of the Project for the Hartford children. Among these were: evidence of the quality and nature

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> Robert Butler . . . wasn't impressed
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of the interaction with suburban children; attendance rates; and anxiety levels.

Feeling of acceptance

In-depth interviews were conducted with groups of Hartford children to obtain indications of their feeling of acceptance in the suburban school. The Project research staff summed up the results of these interviews with the statement that "most of the participants view their experience as positive and growth-producing." *(R12, p. 19)* There was some indication that the older children expressed stronger support than the younger children for the program and its continuation.

Attendance rates

In examining attendance rates, certain factors should be noted. For the Hartford children, getting to and from their suburban schools involved waiting for buses at 7:30 in the morning, sometimes in bad weather; once it involved waiting in a riot-torn city. Most of the children had previously attended schools within easy walking distance of their homes. These factors were expected to decrease the attendance rate of bused children. Attendance rates of the bused children were not, in fact, as high as those of the control groups; they nevertheless compare favorably with Connecticut elementary schools generally. Furthermore, the control groups show unusually high attendance rates – better than the state average at most grade levels.

The statistics alone apparently do not tell the full story. There are many anecdotes about the dedication and persistence of the Hartford children in getting themselves to their suburban schools. According to several suburban principals, 90% of the Hartford children showed up for school during the worst days of the 1967 Hartford riots. The children came in the morning and waited on their street corners for the Project buses. Though there was no trouble getting out of Hartford into the surrounding areas, the buses did have some difficulty getting back past the road blocks and agitated crowds. Both the children and the bus drivers seemed determined to keep things going as usual. Another incident, recorded in one of the early Project Concern brochures, *(R16, p. 4)* tells of the fortitude of one Hartford child,

> Robert Butler . . . wasn't impressed with his famous walk. He wasn't talking much about why he did it either. Robert, a 10 year old from Hartford,

missed his school bus one morning. He hiked the ten miles along the highway to his fourth grade class in Manchester. He could have gone home or somewhere else when he missed the bus – but he didn't.

Anxiety measurement

The third index used to evaluate the subjective responses of Hartford children to placement in suburban schools was the Test Anxiety Scale and the General Anxiety Scale, developed by Dr. Seymour Sarason. Researchers were concerned that the stresses and tensions of placement in a new environment might have a negative impact on the psychological development of the bused children. According to a *Two-Year Report,* (p. 29) the experimental youngsters did not have a tendency to score higher than control groups on measures of anxiety related to school and to life in general (high scores indicate higher level anxiety). The pattern across grades also appeared reasonably consistent. The *Report,* however, also noted that the scores for both experimental and control subjects on the Text Anxiety Scale were significantly higher than those reported by Sarason, et al., for their suburban samples. *A Two-Year Report* concludes its look at the Hartford children with the comment that:

> . . . data available all point to the probability that replacement in a suburban school has been a positive experience for the typical Project Concern child. The quantitative data . . . combined with the subjective reports of parents, teachers, and principals suggest that there has been a movement toward greater personal investment in school, toward more favorable attitudes about learning and teachers, and toward greater self-esteem. At the very least, there are no signs which would contra-indicate continuation of the Project or suggest that enrollment in a "ghetto" school is a more positive psychological experience than enrollment in a suburban school. *(R12, p. 29)*

D. *The Effects on the Suburbs*

Project Concern was born amidst the controversy and fear of many suburban residents. In addition to proving that Hartford children would thrive intellectually and emotionally among the children of suburbia, the two year experimental phase would also have to show that no harm had come to the suburban children. The following description of the suburban fear is taken from *A Two-Year Report:*

A major concern of a number of critics of urban-suburban busing has been the fear that the placement of a limited number of inner city children who are educationally disadvantaged would result in a depression of the academic performance of the suburban children. The basis for this fear was the belief that these inner city children would take an inordinate amount of the teacher's time and, in this way, reduce her impact upon the other class members. Advocates of the program have argued that one or two learning problems in a class will stimulate growth by presenting a different challenge to the teacher which will result in innovation and increased stimulation. *(R12, p. 30)*

Effects on achievement

To determine the effect of the Project on its suburban participants, researchers looked at three indices: 1) the impact on suburban children's achievement; 2) suburban parental attitudes; 3) program expansion and public referenda. To answer the question of achievement two samples of suburban children – one in class with Project Concern children, one in a similar grade but not in class with the city children – were selected. Each child served as his own control in that his achievement growth of 1965-66 (a non-Project year) was compared to his growth during 1966-67 (a Project year). Growth was determined by scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. The results indicated a trend for children in class with Hartford youngsters to do somewhat better than those who were not. Although this difference was not statistically significant, it appears safe to conclude that there is no evidence that suburban youngsters will suffer academically from the presence of inner city children.

The second index for measuring the impact of the project on the suburban community was the data resulting from a mailed anonymous questionnaire survey of three towns. The sample parent population was divided into experimental and control groups, i.e., parents whose children were in class with Hartford children and parents whose children were not. A 44% return on the survey yielded the following results:

Degree of understanding about Project

Most respondents reported that they were well informed about Project Concern. Approximately 95% of the responses were in the category of "I feel that I understand the Project reasonably well." There is no statistically significant difference between the experimental and the control group.

General reaction to Project

The majority of reactions to the Project fell in the "positive" and "mixed feelings" categories. One town showed a consistently more antagonistic attitude toward the Project than the other two towns in responding to this and all the other questions. There was no significant difference between experimental and control groups. Reasons for the different reactions were given as follows:

Positive

Integration will bring benefit to the white students themselves.
The Negroes have a right to equal opportunity.
The Negroes deserve a better environment for learning.

Negative

Education should take place in a neighborhood school.
Project Concern is not a solution to the really crucial problems it intends to solve.
Classes are too crowded.

Mixed

Project Concern cannot solve the crucial problems.
Education should take place in a neighborhood school.
Schools are overcrowded already.

Parents' view of ties between Hartford and suburban children

Responses from parents indicated that most suburban children mentioned Hartford youngsters from time to time. According to suburban parents the comments of their children about the Hartford children were about equally divided among the three categories of positive, negative, and "the same as all children." The majority of parents did not meet any Hartford children. Close to 50% of the parents indicated approval of close friendships between their children and the Hartford children. All of the foregoing results refer to the average of responses from all three towns together. One of the towns showed a consistently and significantly more negative attitude toward the relationship of the Project and suburban children; hence the other two towns were consistently more positive than the average reported.

Attitude toward continuing Project

More than half of the parents were in favor of the continuation of Project Concern. Approximately 26% were uncertain and 23% were opposed. A further analysis attempted to show how these attitudes are related to such factors as: the particular school, occupation of the parent,

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Public referenda

Town	*Question*
Bolton	To Join
Manchester	To Conti

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number of children in the family, and grade level of the respondent.

The differences of attitude toward continuation within the towns are favor ranged from 20% in one school to 75% in another; in town 2, from favor ranged from 20% in one school to 75% in another; in town 2, from 20% to 55%; in town three, from 53% to 64%.

The relationship between occupation and attitude toward continuation did not appear to be statistically significant.

The data collected indicated a statistically significant correlation between the grade and attitude of parent toward continuation. However, the trend was not consistent; rather, it fluctuated from grade to grade, indicating that this may be an artifact of interacting variables.

Public referenda

The third index used to determine the impact of Project Concern on its suburban participants was titled "Program Expansion and Public Referenda." Suburban boards of education had agreed to put the program into effect in spite of widespread objection. Each participating community had suffered from considerable disharmony over the initiation of the Project, and some observers felt that a popular plebiscite would have resulted in a defeat of the proposal. Although Connecticut state law clearly placed the responsibility for the decision with the local board of education, a number of towns requested rulings from their legal officers as to the legality of an "advisory referendum" which would have no binding force, but would give the board of education the benefit of the town's opinion. In four towns the legal authorities declared that such a referendum would not be legal; in two others the decision was that, if no expense were involved (i.e., if the question were placed in an already scheduled ballot) it would be permissible, but not binding. Two such "popular votes" *(R12, p. 37)* were held with the following results:

Town	*Question*	*% Voting*	*% Favor*	*% Opposed*	*Final Decision*
Bolton	To Join	38%	40%	60%	Joined
Manchester	To Continue	35%	49%	51%	Continued

While this seems to indicate significant opposition to Project Concern, the opposition apparently has not yet been mobilized to an effective degree in any of the participating communities. Interestingly, in Manchester,

where citizens voted by school districts, the districts with Hartford children in their schools voted to continue; districts without Hartford children voted against.

Continued support

In fact, the participating suburban towns not only have continued to support Project Concern, but also have allowed it to grow from less than 300 children in 35 public schools in 1966 to nearly 700 children in 74 suburban public schools in 1969. Furthermore, their example has encouraged ten more suburban communities to participate in the program, providing much of the space for this increase. Private and parochial schools located in Hartford as well as in surrounding suburbs have joined the original Project. This brings the total to nearly 1100 children in 91 schools. A similar busing program, influenced by the apparent success of Project Concern, began in New Haven, Connecticut in the fall of 1968. The growth of Project Concern will be discussed further in the final section of this report.

E. *Drop-Outs*

Interviews with drop-outs' parents

As indicated earlier, approximately 26 children, or 10% of the original experimental sample, left the program before the conclusion of the two-year phase. These children are divided into two categories: 1) children who by their own or parental choice dropped out of Project Concern, and 2) children who were asked to leave the program after the suburban school system consulted with the Project administration. Youngsters who left the Hartford target area are not included in follow-up studies of drop-outs.

Researchers were interested in obtaining more information about the 26 drop-outs in the first two categories. Distribution of those children is as follows:

	Children
Group I (withdrawn by own initiative)	14
Group II (withdrawn by Project)	12

The parents of all these children were interviewed in a follow-up study. The children, with the exception of the kindergartners (2 in each category) were also interviewed. The interviewer was a young Negro man,

not otherwise involved in Project Concern. He met with the parents in their homes, with the children in their current school placement. The interviews were concerned with the following questions:

1. Why were the children removed? (Group I only)
2. What is the feeling of children and parents about Project Concern?
3. How would the children and parents feel about rejoining the program?
4. What are the feelings of the parents and children about suburban schools, teachers, and children?
5. What were the problems of readjustment in returning to the inner city school?

In general, the researchers concluded that: 1) personal or family problems accounted for many of the voluntary withdrawals; 2) significantly more children who were withdrawn by the Project than who withdrew voluntarily expressed interest in returning to their suburban schools; 3) a majority of parents in both groups did not want their children to return to Project Concern; 4) children who withdrew voluntarily indicated that they felt a much lower degree of acceptance by the suburban children than did children asked to withdraw; 5) children from neither group seemed to have difficulty readjusting to the urban schools; (only 8% indicated that they had some difficulty.) The Project researchers conclude that there is little evidence of psychological damage caused by incompleted participation in the experiment.

F. *Staffing*

The administrative structure of Project Concern was set up under the Hartford Board of Education. The Project is semi-autonomous, within the confines of city and state educational laws and overall review by the board. The director is appointed by the Hartford Board of Education; while the Project staff is selected by the director, all employees are officially employees of the City of Hartford Board of Education.

Two kinds of staff

Project Concern hired two kinds of staff: the central staff, primarily responsible for general administrative and research functions; and the field staff. The central staff operated out of a small storefront in North

End Hartford, convenient to many of the schools and neighborhoods from which the experimental children came. Field staff accompanied the children to their suburban schools, and acted as liaisons between individual schools, families, and the central staff. Personnel under the design for the two-year experimental phase included:

Central Staff

1. *Project Director* – Had overall administrative responsibility for the Project. Professional with advanced degree.
2. *Assistant Director* – Assumed some of the administrative responsibilities delegated by the Director. Professional.
3. *Coordinator of Aides* – Had administrative and some training responsibility for paraprofessional aides who accompany children to suburban schools. Some professional experiences with community work.
4. *Community Social Worker* – Visited homes of Project children. Professional school social worker.
5. *Executive Assistant* – Did clerical and related administrative work.
6. *Secretarial Assistant* – Helped with clerical work. Apprentice.

Field Staff

1. *Supportive Team Teachers* – Accompanied Hartford children to suburban schools, where appropriate. The role varied, depending on the needs of individual schools, but included regular classroom teaching and small group remedial instruction. Professional, accredited Hartford teachers.
2. *Paraprofessional Aides* – Made home visits, accompanied Hartford children to and from suburban schools, provided some clerical assistance, acted as liaison between schools and urban parents. Nonprofessionals from the North End of Hartford were recruited. Originally, mothers of children in the experiment could not be hired as aides. This rule was changed, and more than half the aides now have children in the program. Some attempt was made to include some Spanish-speaking aides, but, originally, there were none on the staff.

Each suburban town also provided a coordinator for the Project from the central offices of the school system.

After the experimental phase the staffing provisions of Project Concern generally were maintained, but the numbers of some personnel (such as teachers and social workers) in relation to the numbers of children have been reduced; some roles have been redefined.

G. *Summary of Data*

A Two-Year Report offers a summary statement of conclusions based on a comprehensive look at the various data and analysis of results. These conclusions *(R12, p. 48-49)* are admitted to be tentative and in many cases drawn from highly subjective sources of data. They are:

1. Inner city children are clearly at a disadvantage in terms of school expectations as they enter kindergarten and in this study Headstart experience appears to make little difference.
2. Youngsters placed in suburban classrooms at grades K-3 have a significantly greater tendency to show growth in mental ability scores than those remaining in inner city classrooms. This growth, over a two-year period results in mental ability scores that are distributed in close approximation to the national distribution whereas the early testing resulted in a depressed distribution with limited range.
3. There is no evidence that special supportive assistance is an effective intervention within the inner city schools.
4. Suburban placement combined with special supportive assistance is a more effective intervention than is suburban placement by itself.
5. Measures of reading readiness, reading ability and mathematical ability show a pattern similar to that reported in items 2-4 above.
6. Most of the children involved in the suburban placement express a liking for the program and a desire to continue.
7. There appear to be no negative psychological or social consequences stemming from participation for the inner city youngsters.
8. The inner city youngsters placed in suburban schools seem to have a sense of "belonging" and take part in activities like other children in the school.
9. Suburban children appear to accept inner city children on face value.

10. Experience with the program seems to decrease the feelings of antagonism among suburban residents and, in fact, most parents with children in school with Project children report that they support the program.
11. There is no evidence that placement in a suburban school results in greater tensions or anxieties. In fact, what evidence exists suggests the opposite.
12. Placement of two or three inner city children in a suburban classroom has no measurable negative effect on the academic achievement of the suburban children.
13. Although the attendance rate for inner city children placed in suburban schools is somewhat lower than that of inner city children in inner city schools it is still average for elementary school children in Connecticut.
14. Drop-outs from the program have been relatively few and the attitude toward the program even among these children and their parents remains basically positive.

4 The Project Expanded

A. *Project Concern – What Does it All Mean?*

In South Windsor, a little black girl, probably in about second grade, is playing tag with a group of white girls, during lunch hour. The little girl, very animated and enthusiastic, is obviously the center of the group. At one point, she runs off to greet the supportive team aide, a young black woman. The greeting is brief but affectionate. In other areas of the playground there are a few black faces. Of these, at least one child lives in South Windsor; the rest, like the little girl, are from Hartford and are the children of Project Concern.

Inside the school, another group of children are eating lunch. Two black girls, fourth graders, are sitting together with a few other children. They get up to talk to the aide, who has come inside to supervise the lunchroom.

Later in the afternoon, two third-grade boys come down the hall, arms around each other's shoulders. One is a black boy, one of the Project Concern children, the other is a white boy from South Windsor. Most of the day in this elementary school is similar both for the children who are bused from Hartford and for the ones who live in South Windsor. Occasionally, the Hartford children will get special remedial help from a teacher or an aide. Often, however, some of the South Windsor children join them in small group work. When school ends for the afternoon, most

he Project Expanded

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the South Windsor children
ends for the afternoon, most

of the Hartford children climb on their bus for the ride home; many of the South Windsor children, however, also ride buses home. A few Hartford children stay for special activities, or to visit a friend.

Academic placement

According to the school principal, the Hartford children are in general somewhat slower academically than their South Windsor counterparts. In order to avoid placing the children in academic "tracks," the school has ability groupings only for mathematics and reading. The Hartford children usually fall in the slower mathematics groups, and seem to have most difficulty with language arts, the principal explains. But because the children are regrouped for music, art, social studies, and other subjects, the school feels that the Hartford children (as well as less academically gifted South Windsor children) do not identify themselves as inferior to their suburban classmates.

Some sensitive areas

At a suburban junior high school, five Hartford sixth graders talk about the busing program. All five are black and four of them have been attending suburban schools through Project Concern since they were in third grade. The group is obviously very close, although there also seems to be a camaraderie with four white sixth graders who enter the discussion somewhat later. There is the usual name calling and "put down" allowed by long-standing friendships among sixth graders. Despite the freedom with which the children talk about race, neighborhoods, parent reactions, and whether busing will be extended into the suburban high schools, there are a few sensitive areas. No one is willing to talk much about why the Hartford children visit the suburban homes but their suburban classmates do not visit Hartford.

For the children from Hartford, there are indications of confusion about being black in white America. Indirectly, they express discomfort with the contrast between the dirt and disorder of their own neighborhoods, and the apparent order and comfort of the affluent white suburbs. Yet the value or goal most readily accepted and acknowledged by both groups of children is academic achievement and subsequent material security ("a good job"). For this goal, all the children are willing, even anxious, to produce what is expected of them, and to conform to the behavior patterns set up by the suburban community. Whether or not this situation might eventually result in frustration for either the Negro or white chil-

dren, or both, is not yet even an unformulated question in their minds. At least on the surface, however, all the children are firmly committed to Project Concern, and to its stated objectives. When the conversation ends, most of the group walk back to an economics class, discussing banking and the stock market.

B. *The Implications of Change*

Not quite 300 children boarded the Project Concern buses in the fall of 1966 and headed for 35 schools in five suburban towns. In the fall of 1969, 1140 Hartford children boarded buses for trips to one of 14 outlying towns, or to a predominantly white school in South End Hartford, or to private and parochial schools. New Haven and Waterbury, Connecticut's other major urban centers, have begun similar programs.

Many factors enter into this expansion and are worth examining:

- How has growth in numbers of bused children affected the program budget and staff provisions?
- What is the effect of the extension of Project Concern from the original K-5 grades to the present inclusion of grades K-8?
- To what extent does a busing program solve the large scale problem of de facto segregation in urban schools?
- Where do the funds come from for such a program and what other educational needs do they preempt?
- To what extent is the Project in touch with and guided by the parents of the bused children?
- How effectively have the supportive teams (retained beyond the experimental phase), particularly the paraprofessionals, been utilized?

Each of these questions is undoubtedly related to the others. This section will attempt some answers to each, as well as an overall picture of the state of Project Concern, five years after the first bus ride.

How has growth in number of bus budget and staff provisions?

Effects of growth

In the fall of 1966, public schools of approximately 265 vacant seats for ch ford. During the 1967-68 school ye of the attrition factors discussed previ ever, joined the ranks of Project Conce were given places in suburban paro with several new suburban towns par 690 Hartford children commuting da addition, 95 children had been placed 12 in suburban private schools. Furthe schools within the City of Hartford ha from the North End of the city. On were in public schools (primarily in t stronghold of the conservative local c been placed in city parochial schools.

With the sole exception of suburba gories of Project Concern participant children for the fall of 1969. The g predominantly white city public scho children.

As a result, 1078 Hartford children to be far superior to those they would

Table 3*

3a Growth by Number of Students

Kind of school	*1966-67*	*1967-68*	*1968-69*	*1969-70*
Suburban public	265	256	690	702
Suburban parochial	0	45	95	117
Suburban private	0	0	12	11
City public	0	0	164	284
City parochial	0	0	25	26
Total	265	301	986	1,140

3b Growth by Number of Schoo

Kind of school	*1967-6*
Suburban public	35
Suburban parochial	6
Suburban private	0
City public	0
City parochial	0
Total	41

* Figures supplied by Office of the D

How has growth in number of bused children affected the program budget and staff provisions?

Effects of growth

In the fall of 1966, public schools of five suburban towns made available approximately 265 vacant seats for children from ghetto schools in Hartford. During the 1967-68 school year, this number dropped because of the attrition factors discussed previously. Forty-five new children, however, joined the ranks of Project Concern in a special way – these children were given places in suburban parochial schools. By the fall of 1968, with several new suburban towns participating in the Project, there were 690 Hartford children commuting daily to suburban public schools. In addition, 95 children had been placed in suburban parochial schools, and 12 in suburban private schools. Furthermore, several predominantly white schools within the City of Hartford had been persuaded to accept students from the North End of the city. One hundred sixty-four such students were in public schools (primarily in the South End of Hartford, a former stronghold of the conservative local control proponents); another 25 had been placed in city parochial schools.

With the sole exception of suburban private schools, each of these categories of Project Concern participants increased its intake of Hartford children for the fall of 1969. The greatest increase was shown in the predominantly white city public schools, which had a total of 284 Project children.

As a result, 1078 Hartford children were placed in schools considered to be far superior to those they would normally have attended.

-68	*1968-69*	*1969-70*
3	690	702
5	95	117
)	12	11
)	164	284
)	25	26
1	986	1,140

3b Growth by Number of Schools

Kind of school	*1967-68*	*1966-67*	*1968-69*	*1969-70*
Suburban public	35	35	69	74
Suburban parochial	6	0	8	8
Suburban private	0	0	2	2
City public	0	0	6	6
City parochial	0	0	1	1
Total	41	35	86	91

* Figures supplied by Office of the Director, Project Concern

Increase in number of towns

The original suburban participants in Project Concern w
ford, Manchester, Farmington, South Windsor, and Simsbu
mate order of joining.) In the fall of 1968, nine more s
boards voted to participate in the busing program. This
the result of much favorable publicity for the Project, the
efforts of the Project liaison coordinator, and many inf
The nine new participants were Granby, Suffield, Avon,
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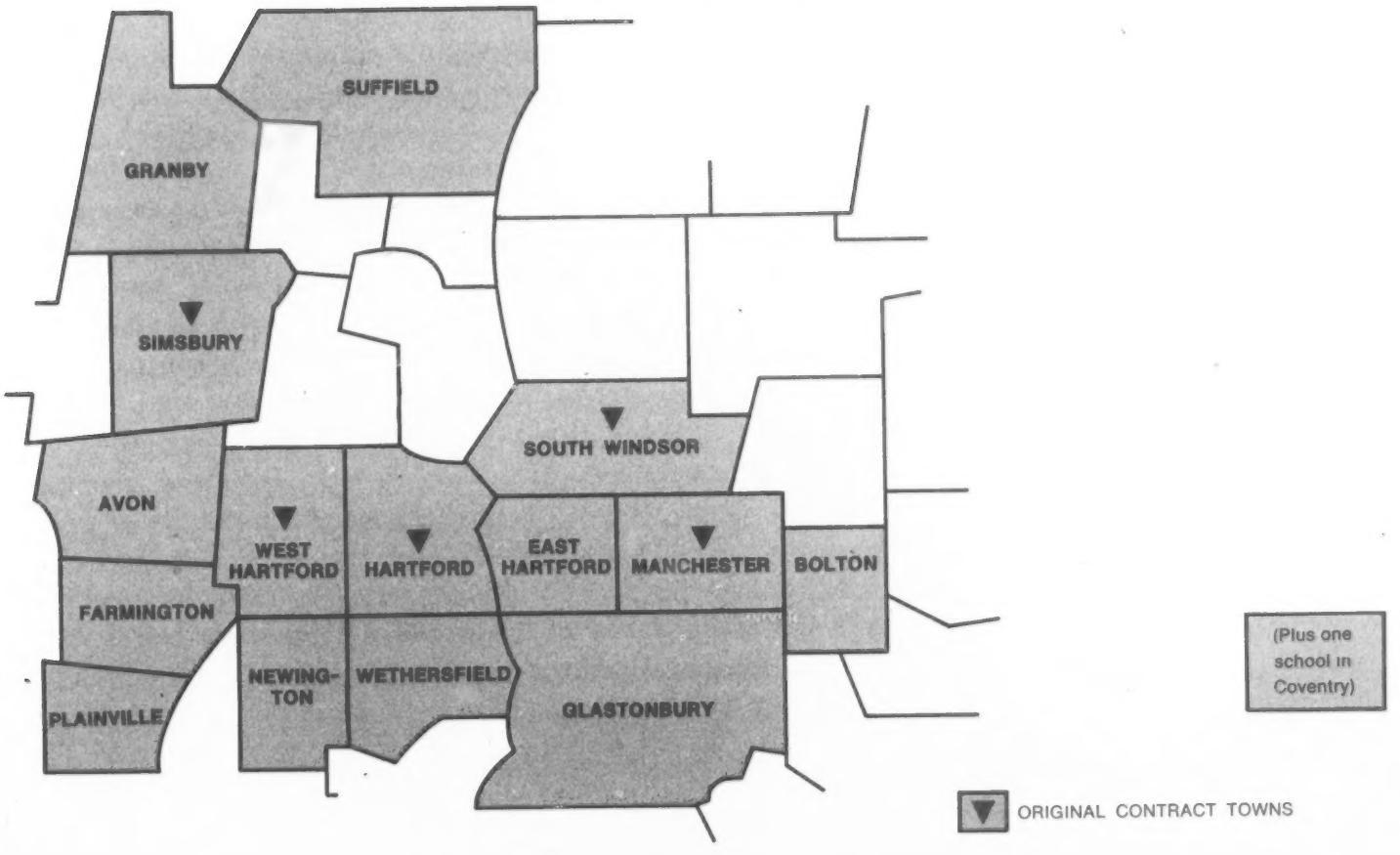
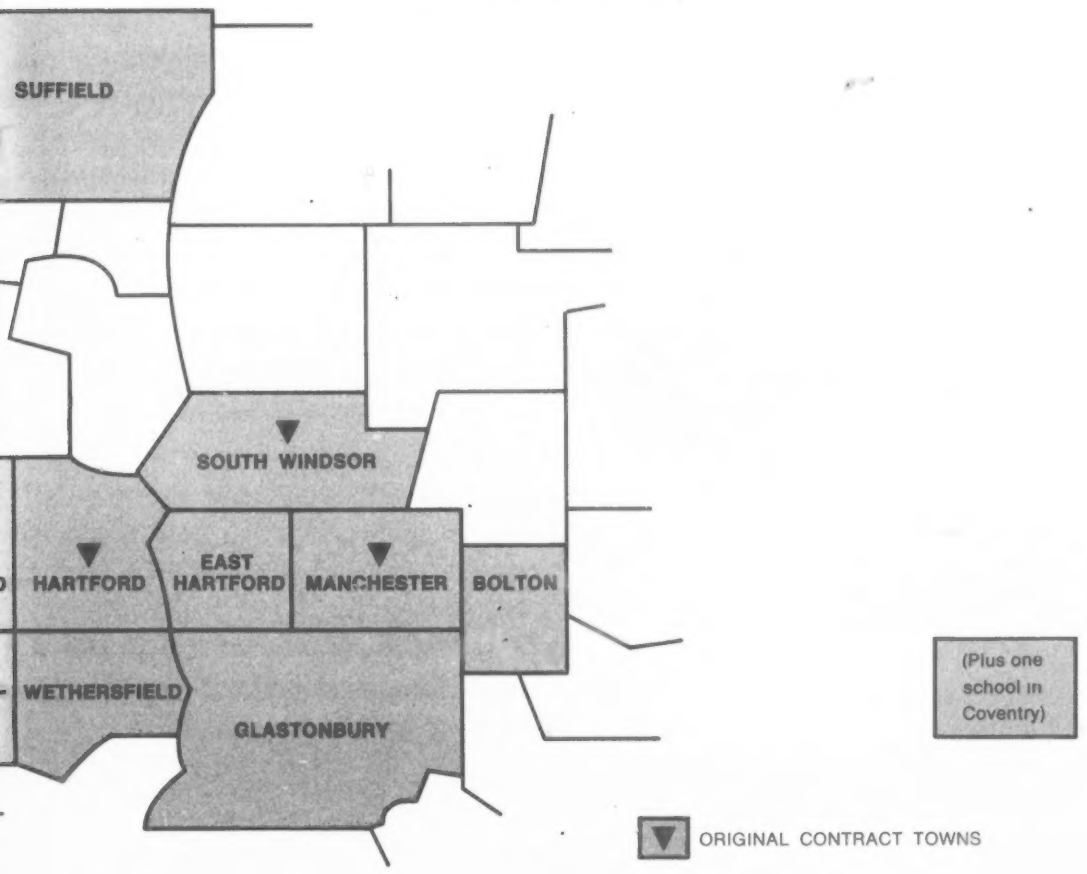
which two years earlier had vetoed participation, on a
other Connecticut township is actually represented in
a private school in Coventry contracted with the City of
seats to several Hartford children.



Increase in number of towns

The original suburban participants in Project Concern were West Hartford, Manchester, Farmington, South Windsor, and Simsbury (in approximate order of joining.) In the fall of 1968, nine more suburban school boards voted to participate in the busing program. This expansion was the result of much favorable publicity for the Project, the extensive official efforts of the Project liaison coordinator, and many informal contacts. The nine new participants were Granby, Suffield, Avon, Plainville, Newington, Wethersfield, East Hartford, Bolton, and Glastonbury (the town which two years earlier had vetoed participation, on a tie vote.) One other Connecticut township is actually represented in Project Concern; a private school in Coventry contracted with the City of Hartford to offer seats to several Hartford children.



Increase in number of schools

Among the towns involved in Project Concern, (see diagram) there are 74 suburban public schools to which Hartford children are bused. This compares to 35 such schools during the two-year experimental phase. Six suburban parochial schools joined the Project during the second year of the experimental phase; by the 1969-70 school year there were eight of these schools. In the fall of 1968, two suburban private schools offered places to Hartford children and have continued their participation in Project Concern. Six public schools in the City of Hartford became involved in the busing procedure in the fall of 1968. These public schools are located in predominantly white sections of the city, particularly the South End. The total number of schools offering seats to children of North End Hartford more than doubled, increasing from 35 in 1966 to 91 in 1969.

It is of some interest, however, that the increase in numbers of children bused to both suburban and city public schools has not been proportionate to the respective increases in numbers of schools in these categories. There are not proportionately as many new schools in the Project as there are new children in these categories. Thus, some public schools, suburban and city, must show increased enrollment of Hartford children. On the other hand, some new communities were turned down because of lack of funds. The Project Concern budget for the two-year experimental phase (1966-68) was a total of $933,700. The source of funds, as provided for each year, was as follows:

Source of funds

	1966-67	1967-6[illegible]
Title IV, Civil Rights Act	$122,700	$ 79,000
Title I, Elem. & Sec. Act	165,000	165,000
Title III, Elem. & Sec. Act	90,000	122,000
City of Hartford	70,000	70,000
Ford Foundation	—	50,000
Total:	$447,700	$486,000

The total cost per pupil for 1967-68 was $1,473.00 per year.

Table 4

PER PUPIL COSTS (dollars)

By Categories	*1967-68*	*1968-69*
Tuition	$ 610	$ 673
Supp. Teacher	312	341
Supp. Aide	127	171
Soc. Services	72	—
Administration	39	52
Secretarial Sal.	220	11
Lunches	42	23
Transportation	251	307
Total per pupil costs:	$1,473.00	$1,578.00

(1967-68 figures for source of funds and for per pupil costs come from *A Two Year Report*, R 12, p. 46; 1968-69 figures were supplied by the Office of the Director, Project Concern.)

By Towns	*1966-67°*
Hartford	$ 710
W. Hartford	656
Farmington	557
Simsbury	471
S. Windsor	485

° Elementary schools

By Years:	
1967-68:	$1,473
1968-69:	1,577
1969-70:	1,638°
1970-71:	1,707°

° Projected

Table 5

TOTAL PROJECT CONCERN COSTS (dollars)

	KIND OF SCHOOL			
1968-69	*Public Sub.*	*Inner City*	*Non-Public*	*Total*
Administrators	33,631	°	°	33,631
Clinical	7,142	°	°	7,142
Teachers °°	221,371	21,061	39,795	282,438
Paraprofessionals	111,296	20,412	12,730	144,438
Tuition	437,527	°	°	437,527
Lunches	2,018	°	°	2,018
Transportation	199,632	26,662	43,427	269,721
Employee Fringe Benefits	5,000	°	°	5,000
Other Operating Expenses	8,097	2,460	2,835	13,392
Total	1,025,714	70,595	98,787	1,195,096

° Figures not available.

°° Under new formulas, cost will be reduced by the cost of supportive teacher salaries which will be subtracted from tuition.

What the dollars buy

During the 1968-69 school year, with a total budget of $1,195,096, the per pupil cost rose to $1,578. Projected per pupil costs for 1969-70 are $1,638 and for 1970-1, $1,707. There are several factors which account for the increase in cost per pupil. Tuition increases in some of the suburban towns are partially responsible, as is inflation in general. (The City of Hartford pays tuition to the suburban towns.) Teacher and paraprofessional salaries, as well as transportation costs, have also risen significantly.

The most important questions, however, are: 1) How much does the per pupil expenditure buy in 1969, as compared with 1966? and 2) Has the quality of the program been maintained as the cost has risen? If the relative increase of numbers of students served by Project Concern is compared to the relative increase in numbers of supportive team teachers, it becomes evident that there are now more children per teacher than there were during the experimental phase. The original standard for the supportive team was one teacher for every 25 students. Actually, each teacher was responsible for approximately 22 children (there were 213 children after attrition, and 12 teachers), during the 1966-68 period. As of the fall of 1969, however, there was approximately one teacher for every 29 students (1,078 students and 36 teachers). While there was one social worker for every 100 Project Concern children in 1966, there is now only one part-time social worker for the nearly 1,100 children. The number of social workers available to the program, however, was reduced because it was decided that the paraprofessionals could more effectively perform the family liaison services originally the responsibility of the social workers. The number of paraprofessional aides has risen in approximate proportion to the increased numbers of students; the ratio is still one aide to about every 23 children.

Staff changes

Table 6

STAFF CHANGES

	1966-67	*1967-68*	*1968-69*	*1970-71*
Teachers	12	14	36½	36½
Teacher Aides	12	14	42	47
Social Workers	2½	2½	½	½
Pupil/Teacher ratio	22.1	21.5	27.0	29.5

Special curriculum materials

Project Concern plans called for curriculum materials geared to the ethnic background and environment of the Project Concern children. Teachers in the supportive teams were to develop such materials, and suburban towns were expected to spend on them some of the tuition they received from the City of Hartford. Project staff members feel, however, that little has been done on this aspect of the program. According to a memorandum distributed by Mr. Medill Bair, Superintendent of the Hartford schools,

> . . . the original plan for Project Concern did not consider tuition a legitimate charge against the program, since Hartford pupils were to occupy empty seats, imposing almost no additional financial burden on the receiving town. Also, when a full tuition formula was imposed, it was Hartford's understanding that the sizeable sums involved were to be turned over to the receiving systems to improve the quality of education in those towns. To our knowledge, this has not happened, and money has accrued to the several town treasuries. *(R4, p. 4)*

Tuition as source of funds

The suburban towns, however, see the issue somewhat differently. In the first place, it is standard practice and legally justifiable for any Connecticut town to charge tuition for the children of nonresidents. Secondly, instructional programs, according to the Project Concern contract, fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the suburban school system. Thus each town, and, in fact, each school, provides "special instructional materials" as it sees fit. This may often mean, as described earlier, the purchase of library books which focus on Negro or other nonwhite fictional and historic characters. In addition, many suburban schools spend a great deal of effort and monies in instituting the latest instructional innovations (such as the Educational Development Center's anthropology curriculum, or the various "new" maths) and feel that these programs are of benefit to the Hartford children as well as to the suburban youngsters.

What is the effect of the extension of Project Concern from the original K-5 grades to the present inclusion of grade K-8?

There are more questions than there are answers about the effect of extending Project Concern into the eighth grade. First, what happens to a

child who must return at age 13 to an urban ghetto junior or senior high school, to which he is no longer accustomed? In a few cases, youngsters are being spared making that readjustment; scholarships and admission have been awarded by a few private and parochial high schools to former Project Concern students. (Some suburbs are considering extending the busing program into the public high schools.) Second, what about the evidence (see analysis of results of academic achievement data, experimental phase, p. 34) that older children are less likely to benefit significantly from the suburban transplant. It should be mentioned that some of the suburban school systems, such as Cheshire, have independently undertaken long-term studies of the effects of Project Concern. Among the factors being assessed are:

1. Academic progress as measured by the standardized California Achievement Test, 1957 Edition, 1963 norms.
2. Academic progress as measured by teacher grades.
3. Child's attitudes toward school, peers, and self as measured by teacher's ratings.
4. Child's self-image and adjustment as measured by a sociometric test.
5. School attendance records.

Third, what effect does an extended Project Concern have on the Hartford school system? Does taking smaller numbers of children from more grade levels dissipate the impact of the busing program on the school system as a whole? This leads into the concern of the next question.

To what extent does a busing program solve the large-scale problem of de facto segregation in urban schools?

Effect of busing on urban segregation

Even as large numbers of children are bused out of the ghetto schools, new enrollments greatly reduce the net gain. According to William Paradis, the program's present executive director, while some 950 children in grades K-6 were bused out of Hartford's eight de facto segregated schools in 1968, there was an increase of 750 students in these same schools. With a total of about 8,400 children in the eight "validated" schools, there is simply not enough room in the suburban and predominately white city schools, and the problem of segregation in the city schools is as bad as ever.

Limiting number of grades

Certainly, the Hartford school system cannot simply abandon all efforts to improve its inner city schools, with the hope that the suburbs and other other schools will bear the burden. One alternative to the present busing program has been suggested by Dr. Alexander J. Plante, director of the Office of Program Development in the State Department of Education. According to Dr. Plante, if the target is limited to the first four elementary grades, all 4,000 students now in those grades could be bused from the North End to the suburbs.

The Hartford metropolitan region has some 2,200 elementary school classrooms, grades K-4 throughout the suburbs. Without disturbing the two-pupil per classroom limit agreed to by Project Concern, these classrooms could receive all 4,000 of these children from the North End. Dr. Plante feels that the most important time for integration is in the primary grades when children are learning basic skills. (One rationale for his proposal is the statistical evidence that suburban placement is most effective in raising academic performance in the lower grades.) Dr. Mahan, the original director of Project Concern, however, strongly urges that the busing plan be continued into the upper grades and feels that this can be done without affecting the number of vacant seats available to the lower grades. Dr. Mahan acknowledges that the statistical evidence indicates a greater academic impact in the lower grades, but he feels that the enthusiasm expressed by both older students and their teachers is evidence that suburban schools have social impact, as well as observable but immeasurable positive academic effect on older children.

Suburban support

At this point, the suburban schools themselves are lining up behind Dr. Mahan. In an interview, Dr. Marvin Eisenberg, principal of one of the South Windsor elementary schools and Project coordinator for the town, expressed strong support for continuation of the program into the upper grades. Dr. Eisenberg explained that he and others feel the long term exposure to suburban schools is necessary to solidify the academic and social gains made by the Hartford youngsters. It is not clear, however, that the suburban parents are ready to accept the busing of older Hartford students. Integration at the high school level raises the highly sensitive issues of interracial dating, political involvement, drugs, and other real or imagined influences. While the school boards will again make the

Need for State construction grants

final decisions, local sentiment
members vote.

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To what extent is the Project
of the bused children?

Two advisory groups were

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Need for State construction grants

Both Dr. Mahan and Dr. Plante have supported efforts to pass legislation which would enable the State to provide grants for school construction costs to suburbs which accept city children in their schools. There was a strong but unsuccessful attempt in 1969 to pass a bill in the State Legislature providing State funds for "overbuilding" classroom space in suburban schools to accommodate more Hartford youngsters. The proposal, which is already being revived for the next Legislative session, would make available State funds for the construction of one suburban classroom for every 25 seats promised to Hartford children.

Where do the funds come from for such a program and what other educational needs do they preempt?

Other money sources

In addition to the overwhelming struggle against numbers, Project Concern must face other realities. Federal and State funds are made available for the Project; the City of Hartford pays about 45 percent of the operating costs (the State grant reimburses Hartford approximately $480.00 for every tuition it pays to bus a Hartford child). Some people see busing as a temporary, stop-gap measure, too expensive and too dependent on outside help to have a viable future. *(R5, p. 35)*

The initial provisions for State support to Project Concern were made in 1966 under Public Bill #611. Since then, several proposed amendments have apparently died in committee (in 1968 and 1969). One amendment would have replaced the arbitrary limitation of the program (children of families with less than $4,000 annual income) by a more flexible concept of "low income." Special State funds for construction of schools in towns participating in Project Concern were also proposed. A third amendment would have established a two-thirds reimbursement formula for funds expended by the City of Hartford on tuition and transportation. (This formula was actually established as a compromise $480.00 per pupil.)

To what extent is the Project in touch with and guided by the parents of the bused children?

Two advisory groups were set up to assist the official staff in carrying

Parents and advisory groups

out Project Concern. The first of these was called the Advisory Council and was composed primarily of community leaders and school administrators, including representatives from the participating school boards, the Connecticut State Department of Education, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Negro community. Its functions were to assist in solving operational problems and to act as a forum for new developments. The second group was known as the Professional Advisory Committee and included the director of the Project, three university professors and various consultants. This committee assisted in formulating research procedures and in interpreting results of data. Neither of these advisory committees included parents of children participating in Project Concern. Among the suggestions submitted in 1968 in *A Two-Year Report* by Dr. Mahan were the following:

1. Maintain the central office in the North End of Hartford.
2. Add three parents, one from each of the three major housing areas to the advisory Board of Project Concern.
3. Establish a liaison committee with membership of each of the more prominent Negro organizations including those which may not have strict formal structure.

Parent representation

Since then Project Concern has made some steps in the direction of more parental involvement. While parents initiated few organized expressions of opinion or requests for decision-making authority, parents informally expressed interest in being more active participants in determining the course of Project Concern. Consequently, in 1969, Acting Director, William Paradis decided that a structure for board parent representation should be provided. A Parent Council has since been established, which includes one elected parent for every 25 Project Concern children. In addition there are now local parent councils, each of which includes the parents of all bused children in a suburban school system. (None of the parent bodies have any delegated authority but can communicate their feelings to the parent representatives on the Advisory Council as well as directly to the Project Concern staff. A large percentage of Project Concern parents also turn out for the suburban school PTA meetings, according to Dr. Paradis.)

How effectively have the supportive teams (retained beyond the experimental phase) been utilized, particularly the paraprofessional aides?

Supportive teams

The nature of the contributions of the supportive teams has become more diverse as the Project expands. The original description outlined four major areas of responsibility for supportive team aides and teachers. Every suburban school system has subsequently developed its own interpretation of the supportive team role, and every supportive team has further modified and defined this role.

Paraprofessionals

"The Educational or Paraprofessional Aide," a memo issued by the Farmington, Connecticut School system, lists the following "Proposed Duties of Teacher Aides" (Project Concern):

Contact with Pupils

1. Read teacher prepared instructions to pupils.
2. Supervise teacher planned activities.
3. Read stories.
4. Help individual children or small groups with arithmetic and word games.
5. Dictate spelling words to children who missed them.
6. Assist with physical education activities under direction of teacher when more than one class is involved.
7. Observe pupil behavior, assist in correcting minor problems, report major infractions to teacher.
8. Keep teacher informed of any difficulties connected with lack of understanding, health problems, or unsatisfactory behavior connected with any contact with pupils.
9. Supervise recess, buslines, cafeteria, and playground as scheduled.
10. Check to see if seatwork is completed.
11. Check to see if written assignments are handed in.
12. Supervise collections.

Other Duties

1. Keep register and attendance. (Include daily report, report card, notations, permanent record, transfer card.)
2. Prepare data for report cards. (Enter all except marks and comments.)
3. Copy report card, Scholastic Record. (Not marks and comments.)
4. Handle bookkeeping details of all collections.
5. Keep inventory of all books and equipment.
6. Assume responsibility for obtaining and storing supplies requested by teacher.
7. Keep files of children's work. (As selected by teacher.)
8. Assist in operating audio-visual equipment.
9. Prepare and run off duplicator materials.
10. With teacher direction secure any instructional materials needed for lessons.
11. Make charts and other visual aids planned by teacher.
12. Prepare classroom displays. (Materials selected by teacher.)
13. Write teacher-made plans on blackboard.
14. Handle routine interruptions, i.e., notes, messages. Make routine phone calls.
15. Correct objective written work. (No evaluation involved.)
16. Handle all aspects of classroom library.
17. Pass out routine notices.

These duties are suggestive rather than all-inclusive and should be expanded to include other needs as they arise or to take advantage of special talents of the teacher aide.

Emotional support from aides

The preceding list is probably fairly typical of how aides are viewed by the suburban school system; it is not exhaustive, however, and perhaps leaves out their most significant contribution. Observations and interviews with several aides, indicated that these women, most of whom are Negro and live in the city of Hartford, provide a special emotional support for the bused children. In the first place, they are the only adults who regular-

ly spend time with the children in an informal, social situation. They ride the bus to and from Hartford, and they generally supervise the playground during free periods. Furthermore, they have experienced racial discrimination or are sensitive to it in the suburban schools. As one aide explained, "What am I supposed to say when a child doesn't get along in his class because his teacher can't relate to Negro children? If I go to the principal to talk the matter over, the principal has to ask me how I know the problem is racial. All I can answer is, "Because I can feel it."

Integration for Project Concern is not only a child to child, or a child to adult matter; it is also adult to adult. For the aides, it is not always an easy process to become a comfortable part of the school staff. It may be that the aides play their most significant role as an index to what is happening psychologically to the Hartford children. There is also some question as to how accurate the word "team" is in reference to the supportive staff. In one suburban school system, the local Project coordinator (a school principal) indicated that the teacher and aide rarely work together, but rather operate separately within the school system. To some extent, this statement was contradicted by the aide, who explained that while they are seldom physically in the same building at the same time, the supportive teacher and aide often meet to discuss the children's needs and coordinate activities. It is probably true, however, that in a participating school system which only qualifies for one supportive team (up to about 28 Hartford children), the teacher and aide have little opportunity to coordinate their efforts.

Supportive teacher

For all intents and purposes, the supportive teacher operates much as a "floater" or extra teacher in any school system. She gives individual attention to children who need remedial work, provides a resource in her areas of expertise, and on occasion, relieves the regular classroom teacher. The supportive team teacher is not exclusively involved with Hartford children, although she is supposed to devote the majority of her time to them. Usually, she will work on remedial instruction appropriate for one of the Hartford children and include some of the suburban children who are having similar learning difficulties.

During the two-year experimental phase, most of the supportive team teachers were hired from the Hartford school system. Since the program's

expansion, however, many suburban teachers have been selected by their school systems to function as the supportive team teacher. While their salaries are paid by the Hartford Board of Education (according to the Project Concern contract), these teachers are in practice and background part of the suburban schools. This situation too has an impact on the relationship between the supportive team aide and teacher. For one thing, only the aide is an "outsider;" furthermore, it is only the aide who shares the experience of the bused children. The argument of the suburban schools is that supportive team teachers are selected on the basis of proven competence, interest in the busing program, and ability to establish a rapport with the Hartford children. The more basic question concerns the real contribution of the supportive team.

Since the statistical data from the experimental phase indicated only a slight academic advantage for bused children receiving this support, the argument for the supportive team's instructional value is not particularly strong. Other benefits – such as psychological effect on the bused children, or the added instructional resources for the entire suburban school system – may, in fact, justify the expense of the supportive team. It does seem important, however, to determine just what effects the teams have in order to determine the criteria for selection of team members. The Project Concern staff has indicated that it is giving some consideration to this issue, and is planning a reevaluation of the supportive team role.

C. *Conclusion*

Project Concern is expanding. Since the closing of the two-year experimental phase, data and analysis of test results have not been rigorously maintained. The City of Hartford and its participant suburbs appear to have confidence in and full support for its busing Project, though in fact there may be gathering doubt in the background.

The success of Project Concern can be evaluated in many ways. Certainly there are some persuasive data indicating that the preeminent objective is being achieved. Hartford children do seem to increase their academic performance in their adopted suburban schools. How permanent this achievement is has not yet been determined; at present Hartford has not announced any plans to do a long term study of children who were

bused to the suburbs. It is also impossible to compare the Project Concern accomplishment with that of hypothetical alternatives, such as comprehensively redesigned inner city schools adapted to the background and environment of inner city children.

Perhaps the most important precedent established by Project Concern is unrelated to both the busing and the supportive team issue. The attempt to design an experiment which could be controlled and evaluated, to do a legitimate piece of action research, is a contribution not to be underestimated in the history of American educational innovation. Neither the experimental design nor its implementation have been perfect, but the facts and the issues have been documented clearly enough so that persons interested in the experience of Project Concern can come to their own informed decisions.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE CONTRACT

Agreement entered into this day of , 196 by and between the Board of Education of the City of Hartford, acting herein by , its President, and the Board of Education of the Town of , acting herein by , its

Witness that whereas the Connecticut State Board of Education has submitted a plan and proposal for "bussing" children from Hartford elementary schools to schools located in certain suburban communities as more particularly set out in "A Proposal to Plan and Study School Programs for Children Involved in a Regional Desegregation Plan," and which is specifically made a part of this Agreement; and

Whereas the Board of Education of the City of Hartford and the Board of Education of the Town of are desirous of co-operating in Project Concern and placing said plan into effect for the school years 1966-1967 and 1967-1968;

Now, therefore, in consideration of the promises and agreements hereinafter contained the Board of Education of the City of Hartford and the Board of Education of the Town of agree to the enrollment of children from said Hartford in the school system of said Town of for the school years 196 -6 and subject to the following specific conditions:

1. Participating boards of education are in no way committed to the plan or any contractual arrangements beyond the 196 -6 school year.
2. Participation in the Project Concern by co-operating boards of education in no way indicates an official interest in a regional or metropolitan education system.
3. The right to withdraw from Project Concern is a privilege maintained by each participating board of education. Intention of withdrawal must be presented to the Connecticut State Department of Education thirty days prior to the actual date of withdrawal.
4. Each participating board of education reserves the right to withdraw from the program any student who, in the judgment of its Superintendent of Schools, poses a severe problem which cannot be solved in any other way.
5. The City of Hartford reserves the right to retain in its schools pupils who are not educationally suited for this particular project.
6. If white pupils are identified in the random procedures used in the selection process, these pupils will participate in Project Concern.
7. In no instance will the addition of Hartford pupils cause a board of education of any participating community to exceed the number stated in its policy on class size.
8. A parent or guardian of "transported" children from the City of Hartford must give written permission allowing their children to participate in the project.
9. Children participating in the project shall be the same children during the 196 -6 school year and will be enrolled in Grades one through six with the same classes wherever possible.
10. The testing program for participating children shall be kept as normal as possible and all testing procedures shall be cleared by the superintendents of schools of the participating communities.
11. Arrangements will be made in the transportation of project children to insure that an excessive amount of time is not spent in this activity on the part of teachers and administrators in the suburban communities.
12. Sufficient busses shall be provided to insure that travel time is made as efficient and effective as possible.
13. Bussing of suburban pupils under this plan will not be allowed under any circumstances.
14. Administrative services to operate the activities of the project must be sufficient and be paid from project funds.

15. No member of the supportive team will provide services to any community without the consent of the board of education of the town involved.
16. Members of the "supportive team" will be under the jurisdiction of the boards of education of the cities and towns they serve.
17. Each "receiving" suburban town will receive a cost-per-pupil grant or tuition for each pupil transported from Hartford. Cost-per-pupil grant or tuition is defined as follows:

> "It is the amount secured when the estimated number of elementary-school children who will be attending the elementary schools of a particular town during the 196 -6 school year is divided into the amount budgeted for the elementary schools of that town for the 196 -6 school year."
> "Furthermore, in instances where kindergartens are operated on a one-half day basis, the cost-per-pupil grant or tuition cost will be one-half of that provided for an elementary school child."

This definition is further clarified by the following factors:

a. A contingency figure of 5% will be added to average estimated costs to insure that true actual per-pupil or tuition costs are achieved.
b. Special costs for "special classes" where reimbursement is enlarged by the State "Handicapped Children's Statute" will not be included in the amount budgeted by a local town for the 196 -6 school year.
c. Transportation costs will not be included in the amount budgeted by a local town for the 196 -6 school year as the transportation costs for project students will be paid by the City of Hartford.
d. Bonding costs (principal and interest) will not be included in the amount budgeted by the local town for the 196 -6 school year as "vacant spaces" was the basis for determining the number of project students and State grants for buildings are being paid to the "receiving" suburban town.

The formula for this concept would be as follows:

Amount budgeted by a town for its elementary school children in grades K-6 for the 196 -6 school year, less special costs for handicapped classes, less transportation, less payments on building bond issues (principal and interest), divided by the number of elementary school children enrolled in grades K-6 in said school system on October 1, 19 , plus a 5% contingency, equals the per-pupil or tuition charge for project children in any one town. In instances where a one-half day session is being provided, a one-half the per-pupil or tuition charge will be made. The amount of tuition to be paid to a participating town will be based on the number of Hartford elementary students enrolled in said participating town's school system as of October 1, 196 The first of two equal payments will be due on October 15, 196 and the second payment will be due on January 30, 196

In witness whereof, the parties have hereunto caused to be set their hands and seals the day and year above mentioned.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF HARTFORD

By_____
Its President.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE TOWN OF

By_____
Its

APPENDIX B

SUBURBAN TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

Teacher Name_____ Town_____
School_____ Grade_____
No. of Hartford children in class_____

1. How long have you been teaching in a class which includes Hartford children?
   _____ Two years (1966-67, 1967-68)
   _____ One year (1967-68)
   _____ Less than a year

2. Rate the level of growth of Hartford children while in your class.

	Reading	Lang. Arts	Math	Social Adj.
Child	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3

Superior_____
Average_____
Poor_____
Comment (if any):

3. Do you feel that the Hartford children had an influence upon the suburban children in your class?
   _____ No.
   _____ Yes. If yes, please specify_____

4. Do you favor continuation of the program?
   _____ Yes. Please explain_____
   _____
   _____ No. Please explain_____
   _____
   _____ Uncertain. Please explain_____

5. How do you feel that the program could be improved?_____
   _____

6. Comments or general reactions_____
   _____

APPENDIX C

SUBURBAN PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Town_____
School_____ Grade of child with Htfd. classmates_____
Occupation_____ No. of children_____

1. Do you feel well informed about Project Concern?
   _____ I feel that I understand the Project reasonably well.
   _____ I feel that I do not understand the Project.
   _____ I am not interested in the Project.
2. What is your general reaction to Project Concern?
   _____ I have no basis for an opinion.
   _____ I have positive feelings toward the Project.
   _____ I have mixed feelings about the Project.
   _____ I have negative feelings about the Project.
3. Please indicate below your reasons for feeling the way you do.
   _____
   _____
4. Does your child mention the Hartford youngsters?
   _____ Frequently _____ Occasionally _____ Never
5. Have you met any of the Hartford youngsters?
   _____ Yes _____ No
6. Please give details as to kind of comments your child makes.
   _____
   _____
7. Does your child play at school with a Hartford youngster regularly?
   _____ Yes _____ No _____ I do not know
8. Do you approve of a close friendship between your youngster and a Hartford child (e.g., occasional weekend visits; lunches)?
   _____ No opinion
   _____ Approve (please elaborate)_____
   _____
   _____ Disapprove (please elaborate)_____
   _____
   _____ Uncertain (please elaborate)_____
   _____
9. How do you feel about the continuation of a program like *Project Concern*?
   _____ In favor (please give reasons)_____
   _____
   _____ Uncertain (please give reason)_____
   _____
   _____ Not in favor (please give reasons)_____
   _____

If there are any other comments or reactions which you would like to share with the researchers, please feel free to mention them below.

_____
_____

APPENDIX D
PUPIL INTERVIEW FORM

Name_____ School_____
Grade_____ With whom living _____
Siblings_____ Former School_____
Father's Occupation_____ Mother's Occupation_____

1. How do you like being bussed to_____
_____ (suburban) school?
_____ Like it better than going to Hartford school.
_____ Would rather go to school in Hartford.
_____ Doesn't make any difference.

2. How do your brothers and sisters feel about your going to school in_____(suburb)?
_____ Treat me the same as ever.
_____ They like the idea and are interested.
_____ They fight and argue more with me because of it.
_____ No brothers or sisters.

3. How do your friends in the neighborhood feel about your going to school in_____(suburb)?
_____ Makes no difference to them.
_____ They are interested in my school.
_____ They seem to pick on me more.
_____ I don't play with them as much.

4. How do you like your teacher in_____
_____ (suburban) school?
_____ More than most teachers I had.
_____ Less than most teachers I had.
_____ Same as most.

5. How do the other children in your class treat you?
_____ Just like all the other children.
_____ Differently (specify)_____
_____
_____

6. Do you want to continue going to school in
_____(suburb)?
_____ Yes
_____ No (if no, why)_____
_____

7. Do you think it would be good for your brothers and sisters to go to school in the suburbs?
_____ Yes
_____ No
Why:_____
_____

8. Where do you think that you have learned more:
_____ in_____(suburban) school.
_____ in Hartford school.
Why:_____
_____

9. How do you think your parent(s) feel about your school?
_____ Want me to continue.
_____ Wish I were in Hartford school.
_____ Don't care.

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